The Minor of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excuse Fr. Pelino de Controvino from his duties as head of the Mission Barcelos, at the same time, immediate and equitable means were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remotests.

XIV

Tiu between the hostilities and the Indians ofm Upper Tapajos.

The bte fight waged between the leading citizens of the Rentuba Distri and the missionary of Barcelos had no other cause than the Indi trade.

I refer to to those Indians who live at the Mission of Barcelos and other points of the Upper Tapajos riverbanks, and not to the Mdurians of the central villages, such as Necodemus and others, whichre called villages of the plains.

The lan, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and mod appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty traimen.

The missionary of Barcelos held the combined functions of director of thentitlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and fenle pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants fromthe government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Indin usually isolated from any contact with the inhabitants ofm district and especially with the hostrown. [146]

All thetrden trade in Barcelos was carried out through him directly with a Para market, and he gave no accounts whatever of these transtions to the government.

We thatmo endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in wh trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajos.

The diocs of Santarem, which stretches beyond the Mission of Barcelos toe borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazons.

9: Murphy & Steward E-9 (1952-1953) 1956

BQ13 Manufacture BQ13

Montagnais E-6

[illegible]

The communities of the Lake Athabaska grouping show a high degree of structural similarities. Both Montagnais and Dogrib populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians visit, exchange, entertain, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is also the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediate of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common participation of the national culture or even of the regional subculture of their non-Indian neighbors.

There is a third plane, which, though occurring at different dates on the different localities, is characterized by acculturation of the Indians to a local subculture of the national socio-cultural system and normal laws of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relations with the national society, they are quite within the basic proportions of the cultures in which they lived and must have like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermingle extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the rural regional subcultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the specific shift in mode and level of integration will not mark or harken the loss of Athapaskan distinctiveness. Forces that augment the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I shall suggest that a culture as a whole (whether or it is true by a bounded social structure). In this sense I would agree that the social structure as the functional of the whole social life of any continuing society.... The social structure of a group does not exist without the participating human and a living whole does through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding culture, and where social systems have not be some structural basis for that" (Radcliffe-Brown [1952, pp. 194-5]).

5. [illegible]

In the extent and nature the Athapaskan-speaking peoples to the cross-cultural investigation of underlying changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further generalizations, however, but will discuss cultures as actual integrated systems operated. The purposes of such apparent divergences in the Northwest Coast, where the two types of Indian strongholds or acculturation rather than weakened the aboriginal social structures. The dispossession of the primitive and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of the shifts in trade goods, as a trading post has been also superseded by a number of stations [cf. Ramsey [1935]; Duncan [1916]; Drucker [1951]; Lowie [1954]]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in fact as the central factor. Other equally significant factors are the [illegible]. The new order was the product of [illegible]. Indian and white [illegible] and politicians involved [illegible] officers and missionary [illegible]. The amount of land removed and probably fairly complete and in any event did not affect the economic efforts of the great majority which remained dependent mainly or even exclusively on hunting, gathering, and fishing pursuits.

The changing activities of the Church of Rupert House were nearly paralleled those of the Northwestern Algonkians, according to Indian ethnographer [1954, p. 152]:

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nuclei and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururu River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururu River. The Cururu villages are the result of migrations by mother and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururu, and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururu River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. This results in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururu River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[a]

Other factors have modified Mundurucu social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[b] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has increased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucu and to promote the growing dominance of the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucu who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururu creeks. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

[a] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururu River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of native societies in another work. (Murphy, 1958.)

[b] According to some sources, the decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 88) estimated the Mundurucu population to be 30,000 in 1818, and Tocantins (1867, p. 60) estimated it to number 38,000 in 1819.

11: Murphy E-1 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ11 Manderson SQ11

The *patcha ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *gabip* and the *arrakai*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, invisible object in which the *patcha ñ* is sometimes found. The *gabip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *arrakai* and the *gabip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *thoon*, that exists in all animals. The Mandurmel believe that every animal possesses a *arrakai* and a *gabip* as part of its power (*thoon*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *patcha ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *gabip* or the *arrakai* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *patcha ñ*. One shaman stated that the *gabip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *arrakai* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *patcha ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mandurmel thought are the Wā ñ, the *daiy* ñ, the *mpoon* ñ, and the *kaal* ñ, or the mothers of the taro, the possum, the deer, and the grass monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *patcha ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Mandurmel commonly speak of "losing the *patcha ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *patcha ñ*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the nata monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *arrakai*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *mpoo ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *patcha ñ* in the animal world. The *mpoo ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *mpoo ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptiles, amphibians, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the *nyburuga* and *wanaja*, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the pointer, or *mutanda*. The mother of the pointer can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, for they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informants' responses on the subject. Mandurmel beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *arrakai*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1952
SQ11 Munduruca SQ11

dense and alive and strong. The *wradud* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation, there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *paiche* is not a *wradud*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wradud*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *paiche* in but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *paiche* is, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since also knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intense fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Pawapori*, belief in which is commonly widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Pawapori*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Pawapori* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Pawapori*. Another type of *Pawapori* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Pawapori* are neither as prominent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Pawapori* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the most dangerous of all the *Pawapori*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Pawapori* frequently conspire to have it that the other *Pawapori* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Pawapori* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land, the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Pawapori* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Pawapori*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

12: Murphy E-5 (1951-1951)1960
SQ13 Amherst SQ13

as most of the population. These are one- or two-family groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary for the perpetuation of the native civil system. And the social units are too small for the effective transmission of the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation for Brazilians, greater population density, and, therefore, an intensive interaction with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation of the Indian culture among the colonists of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is once worn, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and culture lies in the remaining seventeen villages, and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós & Cururú rivers originally emigrated. It cannot be said of the Mundurucú of the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply acted and altered by Brazilian society. But change between the least among this population. A greater degree of political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the new social system persists, although it has been subject to modifications. Society and culture in the savannah is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or eventy years ago, but it is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto do Mato Grosso is a vast forested and rugged upland, ranging in altitude fm 2,300 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós/Juruá, and Aruguaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQU Mundurucu SQU

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was born in 1882. Since his most reliable recollections probably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1895—and I am being generous here. The period of 1903 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the present. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful documentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of social change. It has been said that there are three spatially and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the more-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Manduruca SQ13

[12] [19] ●

ands and the Curuá River. The differences between the savannah villages and those of the Curuá, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Munduruká history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Curuá. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Curuá River, for we see them on the savannahs.

[38] [27] I start my analysis with a presentation of Munduruká history, based on published sources and information given by the priests of the Curuá mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Munduruká culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Munduruká society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Curuá River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Munduruká society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQU) Munduruca SQU)

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Curuá has had profound effects on Munduruca society. Before 1830 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Curuá. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Curuá were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Curuá, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Casi, established in the 1830's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Curuá, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Curuá. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Curuá River people ridicule the *campineses*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Curuá-River Munduruá, because they at the same time respect the *campineses* for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the *campineses* as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The *campineses*, on the other

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

175 hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *parintsi*,
• 197 or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. How-
186 ever, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not in-
spired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather,
he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from
him and will not accept him, although they are all Mun-
durukú.

175 The split within the tribe occurred only during the past
184 three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in mi-
gration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cu-
rurú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually
[166] to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the
streams on the headwaters of which they live. The am-
bivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river
decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

175 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact
between the Munduruká and the whites can be conveni-
ently divided into four distinct periods. These are based
on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mun-
durukú relations.

1770-1795.—During this period, the warlike Mun-
durukú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists
and directed attacks against them in the region along the
Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower
Madeira River, on the west. The first Munduruká settling
of the latter area took place during these years and was
probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In
1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east
side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Munduruká
territory, ended hostilities.

1795-1830.—The Munduruká, at peace with the whites,

14: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Munduruca population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 380 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Aró, 90; Cabitutá, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipiko, 50; Dekodyom, 50; Caxí, 25; and Paxiuaxikóbá, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Curuá River. Caxí was established in recent times by conservative Munduruca who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Curuá River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

12: Murphy E-5 (1951-1953) 1960
SQU Manuscripts SQU

ECONOMIC LIFE

even, the people of the village still maintain trade relations and their closest social contacts with the Curuá River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Curuá were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between canoeiros and Curuá residents to make contact between the two groups most speculative.

THE SAMAUMA VILLAGES

Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and sanitational reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Although their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

THE LOCAL GROUP

SQU 578 577 [484] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Curuá River Munduruá where men join their wives even in such menial tasks as fuitaba making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Munduruá to the mystery of the dingyhut, the men immediately peppered the women with pain seeds.

SQU 578 SQU 577 SQU 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cultivate under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

SQU 562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The external physical arrangement of the dwelling house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is then divided into three unwalled sections, each end contains

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

7

the mundurucú of the cururú river

The Cururú River was permanently settled by the Mundurucú in the 1820's and 1830's through much the same processes that are observable today along the Cadiriri, Caburuni, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial lands were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

13:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruc u SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 759 756 a leader in the movement for secession. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Munduruc ú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a [574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth or the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.